

PEACE NEWS

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MARGIN OF FREEDOM

MANY people find it hard to realise the post-war situation. The unknown factors are too many for a stable and coherent picture. But the pacifist should at least be sure that, even in the most favourable event, we shall be much nearer to a totalitarian society than before. Everything will then depend on the effort to enlarge the margins of freedom: and pacifists will have a vital contribution to make. That they shall be able to make it effectively is the main purpose of the Fighting Fund.

It was, of course, too soon to expect my "spectacular £100" to flow in during the past week. Instead, there has been a modest improvement of a deplorable situation.

Contributions since Feb. 22: £14 14 9.
Total to date: £4,168 17 7.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques etc. payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

What of "Gallant Little Poland"?

THE Russian advance appears to have been checked mainly because of the early thaw of an exceptionally mild spring. The dangerous German thrust in Tunisia has likewise been checked. Stalin has been ungracious enough to make a clear exposition of the military situation without so much as mentioning the Tunisian affair.

The Polish National Council has declared that the Polish frontiers of 1939 are inviolable. The official Soviet News Agency makes it plain that it will have no respect for those frontiers (Mail, Mar. 2).

The New Statesman (Feb. 27) says: "These people round the Polish Government in London represent nothing but narrow class interests and greedy musical-comedy Polish imperialism." That is probably true enough. According to the same source, "the British Government has made it clear that it will not guarantee any of the Polish Eastern frontiers"; which is probably wise, but promises an odd finale to a war undertaken to defend "gallant little Poland".

Government and Gandhi

APPARENTLY, Gandhi is going to survive his fast. It is an

amazing feat of physical endurance derived from spiritual strength. But it is lucky for the Government. It gives it a chance of a fresh initiative, without sacrifice of its precious prestige. If the Government does not liberate him now, its folly will be patent.

The imprisonment of Gandhi is the stupidest blunder the Government has let itself be landed in by its right wing of incurable die-hards. It and the unpardonable flogging business associated with it has wiped out our moral case against Hitler. The King should release Gandhi immediately as an act of grace unconnected with policy and apologize to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet. That would do what is possible to save the Indian situation.

Thus Mr. Bernard Shaw, quoted in The Times, (Feb. 27). It seems to me plain common-sense.

1931 Politics Again?

MR. Herbert Morrison, by his defence of the Government treatment of the Beveridge Report, "saved the Cabinet by swinging against his own party-comrades the vote of the 40 or 50 Conservatives who had intended to join the revolt" (News Review, Feb. 25). Whether converting rebellious Conservatives on such an issue is a proper function for a Labour Minister is questionable.

was considered that Darlan was "no longer free". Immediately afterwards General Nogues declared his views as follows: "I find that Admiral Darlan has regained full freedom. Our views coincide entirely. In the name of the Marshal, and in agreement with him, I hand over my powers to Admiral Darlan and place myself under his orders."

Now we are left with a pretty little equation. Nogues has the most promising record from the British point of view of all the French administrators in N. Africa. Nogues's views coincide entirely with Darlan's, under whose orders he places himself. Darlan's assassination was, or ought to have been, welcomed in every British home. A fortiori, Nogues...

No Convictions

What do you make of it? Objectively, nothing at all: for it makes nonsense. Subjectively, a good deal. Picture Post blows hot and cold in this, as really in everything.

It does this because it is symptomatic. It has no convictions. A trumpet-blast from The Tribune turns it red; a message from N. Africa turns it blue. What its real colour is nobody knows: probably that of the chameleon which sat on the tartan.

And, very likely, its function, or at any rate the condition of its existence, is to be nothing in particular just now, like the new lower middle-class, and new upper working-class, whose favoured organ it is.

Nevertheless, in fact that class went Nazi in Germany, because it was nothing in particular. Nazi means National-Socialist after all. And I think that when the British variety of that creed emerges Picture Post will adopt it with enthusiasm.

For it is a journal without values, or with only the bastard value of efficiency. Where values are a vacuum, National Socialism, Capitalist Socialism, comes inevitably to fill the void.

Perhaps the most significant article of all in this number is one describing the digging of ironstone by great mechanical excavators from the agricultural land of England, on a line from N. Lincoln to N. Oxfordshire. It is significant for its fundamental cynicism.

The article ends: "It's enough to make the gods laugh. Wars begin and end in the same way. Somebody has to dig a hole in the ground."

A Pacifist COMMENTARY Edited by OBSERVER

It looks as though the situation of 1941 is bound in the long run to repeat itself, because the people whom the Labour Party represents cannot be brought to acquiesce in Government policy towards the Beveridge Report, and the party-machine dares not ignore them. For what could be more ominous than the substantial votes now regularly attracted by the Common Wealth candidates? Quite justly, Common Wealth is stepping into the position which would, apart from the political stagnation produced by coalition, have been occupied by a Labour opposition.

Common Wealth Prospects

THE narrow failures of Common Wealth are much more significant than the spate of "Independent" successes a year ago. Common Wealth has a coherent political philosophy and a substantially sound political programme. It is, distinctly, a modern party: a gathering into focus of the various premature and abortive attempts (e.g. New Britain) to create a progressive party on a sounder basis than Trade Unionism.

The Trade Unions cannot be the basis of a progressive party adequate to contemporary needs. The pursuit of sectional advantage for the workers (which is the motive of Trade Unionism) must bring the unions to a point where they will make a pact with monopoly Capitalism at the expense of the ordinary man. This is the situation which the founders of Common Wealth have understood, and by which they are justly profiting. They have a chance of forming a truly national progressive party.

A Genuine Opposition?

NOT only the Labour Party, but the Communists also, will find Common Wealth a dangerous rival. The Communists have placed themselves, for the umpteenth time, in a morally untenable position, by supporting Churchill candidates against every kind of opposition, however progressive, however much determined to win the war. As ever, they are not considering British necessities, but what they conceive to be the necessities of Russia. Common Wealth, on the other hand, is indigenous; it emphasizes that connection with Christian principle which has always been essential to a popular progressive movement in this country, and without which the Labour Party itself would never have grown.

The Labour and Communist Parties, by identifying themselves with a National Government which has consistently ignored the clamant need of a progressive social policy, have both stultified themselves. The coast is clear for Acland and his colleagues to do what Cripps should have done—create the nucleus of a genuine, constructive opposition. Let Common Wealth grow but a little more, let it gain five or six seats, and things will really begin to happen.

New Educational Advance

COMMON WEALTH has other peculiarities which seem to me worth remarking, particularly in view of Middleton Murry's article in this issue on Picture Post. One might almost say that Common Wealth has grown out of the Penguin books. Sir Richard Acland's "Unser Kampf" is the origin of the movement. James Parkes, the present chairman, is better known as John Hadham, the author of another famous Penguin, "Good God". Tom Wintringham, who is now vice-Chairman with Sir Richard Acland, is also a well-known Penguin author. He is also a well-known contributor to Picture Post, and represents the forthright progressive element in that ambiguous publication. One might say Common Wealth is the political

(Continued on page 2)

The Gods Laugh By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

PERHAPS the most interesting of contemporary journals is Picture Post. By "interesting" I do not mean that its contents are of high intrinsic value. Rather the contrary. It is interesting because it is significant; it is significant because it is symptomatic.

It is symptomatic, first, because it is nearly all pictures. The solid copy is "a halfpennyworth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack". It is symptomatic, second, because it is "Leftish"—pronouncedly pink, and that in spite of the fact that it is one of the most prosperous capitalist press ventures of these latter days.

That brings us to the third reason why it is symptomatic. It belongs to the tremendous development of light industry—radio sets, vacuum cleaners and the like—during the ten years before the war. Technically, morally, intellectually, it is the expression, in capitalist journalism, of that peculiar boom, that particular period.

It is slick and stream-lined. It is the journal of the new suburbia, the organ of the modern villas, with more provision for motor-cars than for children, which were the social counterpart of the aforesaid light industries.

Pink but not red, therefore. Full of idolatry of Soviet Russia, yet always vague at the focal point—the communal ownership of the means of production. But vague: nothing like as definite as its American counterpart—Mr. Luce's Life. That has no doubt about its political function: to bring the great American gospel of private enterprise up-to-date, à la Kaiser.

In comparison, Picture Post is hesitant. It wobbles perceptibly between socialism and capitalism. Its authorities are people like Joad and Huxley: stars of the Brains Trust and the BBC, the somewhat superficial sages of a Britain in decline.

Symptomatic Tit-Bit

So much for the journal: now for its contents. I take the issue of Jan. 16. It is the only one I have read for a twelve-month. But when I used to buy it regularly, I formed the habit of turning first to the editorial at the end, which is written by the young boss himself, Mr. Edward Hulton. When I bought an odd number at the railway-station, the old habit revived. I turned to Mr. Hulton, the symptomatic tit-bit of the symptomatic paper.

"Why not be Honest?" was the

title. Why not, indeed? And this is what I read—not Mr. Hulton's own—but quoted from The Tribune.

The news of Admiral Darlan's timely death enlivened the festivity of every Christmas home in Britain; and if the bells had not already been ringing, there would have been a spontaneous and unprecedented movement towards the Churches.

On this Mr. Hulton comments: The Tribune is certainly a brave trumpet-blast in a world where these blasts are becoming too few; and it is a blast which makes us wake up and think.

"Why not be honest?" The first thing (I should have said) to think about was whether the trumpet-blast was true. Certainly, to my experience, it is entirely false. I doubt whether there were a thousand homes in England where the Christmas festivities were in the least gladdened by the news of Darlan's death. And as for the people rushing out to ring the bells, that is just my eye.

Parlour-Bolshevists

But it is all gospel for Mr. Hulton. It is a matter on which he can be safely red. Darlan was a Fascist. Everybody in England rejoices when a Fascist is assassinated. Or they ought to. It is as simple as that. And Mr. Hulton scores one with the parlour-Bolshevists.

We must trust the Soviets, and they will trust us. We must interlock all our forces in N. Africa and elsewhere, with theirs, for the permanent preservation of world peace.

But I know my Mr. Hulton. I turn to the front of his paper. An article, full of pictures, on Morocco and the French Resident General Nogues: factual and objective, much the kind of stuff that Life goes in for.

North African politics are in such confusion that the shrewd observer is inclined to reserve his judgment about everybody—and particularly about the French soldiers who have been associated with Darlan. Auguste Nogues is, perhaps, the most typical living representative of the French colonial military tradition.

There follows a very complimentary pen-picture of Nogues—"he has the most promising record from our point of view of all the French administrators in N. Africa".

And what is his record—above all since N. Africa came fairly under the limelight? Here it is, in Picture Post's own words:

Immediately after Darlan's defection from Vichy, Gen. Nogues was appointed Delegate-General in N. Africa by Petain, because it

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Gandhi's
Appeal

MR. CHURCHILL'S recent statement concerning Gandhi is of a kind to engender despair of the possibility of any imaginative approach on the part of the Government towards the problem of India. The statement amounts to this. The Government was right to arrest Gandhi and the other Congress leaders. The reasons for its action are universally understood and approved. They are as valid now as in August last. Therefore, the Government refuses to be coerced by his fasting into releasing Gandhi. If he dies, the responsibility is entirely Gandhi's.

Arbitrary government has always justified itself in that fashion. The imprisoned or executed patriot has always been "entirely responsible" for his fate. But the British Government claims that it is not arbitrary. Indeed, it claims that it is fighting the war against arbitrary government. Because Gandhi maintains that it is plainly immoral to compel India to enter into a war without having obtained her consent, and therefore issues an appeal to Indians to withdraw their co-operation with the arbitrary and foreign government of India, he and his adherents to the number of 60,000 are clapped into gaol. Unable to appeal to justice, unable to resist by physical force, Gandhi imposes upon himself the ordeal of a prolonged fast. What is his purpose? Not, as Mr. Churchill supposes, in order to secure his own unconditional release; but in order to put the issue in the hands of a higher power, since earthly justice is denied to him and those he stands for.

Even stalwart defenders of Gandhi in this country represent his action as very peculiar. India, they say, is a very peculiar place; and its very peculiar people, for some inscrutable reason, regard Gandhi as a combination of hero and saint. It is very foolish they contend, to let him become a martyr as well. And, of course, it is very foolish. But if the Government wins the dangerous gamble, and Gandhi does not die, the argument is left in the air.

The real peculiarity of Gandhi is that he believes in God. If Mr. Churchill believed in God, he would have no difficulty in understanding Mr. Gandhi's action; but neither would he have driven him to it. For Mr. Gandhi's action is, in part, a direct appeal to the justice of God when justice has been denied him by men; in part, it is a self-purification, in order that he may become a pure instrument for the divine intervention in the impasse created by unbelieving men. In effect, Gandhi says: By fasting, not deliberately unto death, I shall know the will of God. If I die during my three week's ordeal, the divine event may cause a break in the deadlock. That will be God's will. If I survive, that also will be God's will; but while my life trembles in the balance, men's hearts may be moved, their imagination stirred. In either event, God may be active again, through my instrumentality, in moving the affairs of my country.

Does God exist? The British people, on the whole well represented by Mr. Churchill in this matter, is pretty certain he does not. It endorses the opinion of the Viceroy that Mr. Gandhi's action is "political blackmail." The whole conception of an appeal to God is meaningless to them. It is by this conception that Gandhi lives, and because he lives by it, the Indian people revere him. The issue is between faith and unfaith, spirit and matter, between the mass of Englishmen who believe that God is on the side of the big battalions, and one man who represents a people that does not.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

expression of the new advance in popular education represented by the Penguin series. Yet another detail. James Parkes has long been a careful student of the Jewish problem. Without being blind to the faults of Jewry (for which see a significant letter in the New Statesman, Feb. 27), he has been a doughty champion of the Jews against oppression. Perhaps largely to his influence is due the fact that the Christian strain in Common Wealth expresses itself in an unequivocal demand for succour for the Jews.

Claims to Humanity

HERE is the text of a letter, signed by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Common Wealth, which appeared in The Times (Feb. 25).

"If the British Government is ever again to claim to speak in the name of humanity, it is essential that it should make an unmistakable declaration that, with or without the co-operation of others, the British Empire is prepared to receive and succour every Jew of any age who can escape from Hitler's clutches to any British frontier or any port where a British ship can call. We appreciate the difficulties of transport, and the possible need for internment on security grounds. In spite of these difficulties, the declaration must be made.

"If it is not made, some citizens may suppose that they are exonerated from personal responsibility by their feelings of moral indignation. They are not. It is high time for them to realize that moral indignation is itself a form of hypocrisy unless it is translated into an organized determination to make those political changes which are necessary if their claims on behalf of humanity and morality are not perpetually to be ignored."

Labour Party's Position

I SEEM to be advertising Common Wealth. I am not even a member, though I begin to think I ought to be. But I am concerned with it merely as an observer. And it appears to me the most hopeful political movement in the country today. It is moving in on the flank of the Labour Party, and may very soon be in a position to exert effective pressure upon it—the more effective because Common Wealth is entirely independent of Labour. It promises to do what the Labour Party ought to have done, to become what the Labour Party ought to have become.

The Labour Party is hamstringing by the political truce. But that is the Labour Party's own fault. And Labour Party members who affect to be independent of the National Government without daring to insist that the Labour representatives in the Government shall come out of it, deserve to have the ground cut from under their feet by a new party. If the Labour Party wants to meet the threat of Common Wealth effectively, it must either compel the National Government to accept the Beveridge Report, or break with it.

Where Bevin Stands

IT is not surprising in these circumstances that it is Mr. Bevin who is challenging the Labour MPs who voted against the Government in the Beveridge debate. According to the Daily Mail (Feb. 25), Mr. Bevin has refused to attend any more meetings of Labour MPs until there is the promise of "complete co-operation between the rank and file and Ministers in the Government." The TUC executives are reported "to have come down definitely on Mr. Bevin's side."

All that is natural enough. Mr. Bevin, whatever he may believe about himself, stands for a policy which must end in a combination of monopolist Trade Unionism with monopoly Capitalism. Very likely, he knows quite well what he is doing, and believes it is a good policy: a new form of Corporative State in which the Trades Unions have a larger share of the power than they are accustomed to have under Fascism. It is all very well, but it spells death to the middle-class, which, with all its sins, is still the main stronghold of the liberal attitude traditional to Englishmen.

The Beveridge Report

I AM not hopelessly enamoured of the Beveridge Report. It leaves untouched and unsolved the vital domestic problem with which I, and I hope my fellow-pacifists are primarily concerned: the establishment of freedom within a mass industrial society. I support the Beveridge Report because it will give the country a breathing space during which there may grow a widespread consciousness of the deep political and moral issues involved in the efficient organization of an industrial society.

The Beveridge Report, with all its assumptions and implications realized in practice, will enforce upon the unconscious millions in Britain, in immediate experience, a moral decision. They will have to answer the question: What do they mean by the liberty they affect to value beyond all other goods? Is it freedom from want, or is it freedom for responsible decision? They can have the former without the latter, easily enough. Or do they mean by freedom both freedoms together? If so, they will discover 'hat not a mechanical, but a moral revolution is required of them.

The Hitch

I LIKE this rhyme; but for the life of me I cannot remember where I read it.

Global war and global peace,
Global police when wars shall cease;
Nothing now delays the plan,
But the birth of global man.

Calmness of Soul

SOMETIMES it comes to me with a jolt that observing is not very good for my soul. Week after week spent peering into the flowing chaos of egoisms, "the sensual flux", as the Buddha called it, which is contemporary history, is an occupation which really demands more holiness than I am ever

likely to possess: if only to prevent one from succumbing to the doom foretold by Blake—"We become what we behold".

Such a jolt was caused by a little book "Memoirs of a Truth-Seeker" (Vedanta Movement, 24 North St., S.W.16, 2s. 6d.). It is a simple spiritual journal written by Winifred Iles, a member of the PPU who died of tuberculosis a year ago, which tells in the main of the calm brought to her troubled soul by the Vedanta teachings. At times almost naive, at other times truly penetrating, the journal has an effortless purity. I cannot imagine that anyone would not be the better for reading it. I certainly was.

Largest "Co-op"
Will Discuss
Armistice

A RESOLUTION urging that "an immediate armistice be sought to discuss peace terms" will be put before members of the London Co-operative Society at the half-yearly meetings in April. The society, which has about three-quarters of a million members, is the largest in the world, and if the resolution is adopted the effect on other co-operative societies will be great.

As many signatures as can be got to the resolution—if possible, 500—are sought by Mar. 13, and pacifist members of the LCS are asked to secure a copy of the resolution for signature and return by that date, from A. E. Moir (secretary of the Co-operative War Resisters' Association), 68 Ingleby Rd., Ilford. Their support will also be needed when the resolution comes before the half-yearly meetings in their locality.

Full text of the resolution is: This meeting of the LCS members declares that the time has arrived for negotiations to bring the war to an end, before the plans of imperialist rulers for extension and intensification of the conflict commit the peoples everywhere to still greater distress, destruction, and slaughter. It asks that an immediate armistice be sought to discuss peace terms so that the world's workers may turn to the building of the new co-operative world order which all people desire and which can only be built in an environment of peace.

I Wish I Were a Bishop
writes JOHN SCANLON

— or even an Archbishop

I do not have this longing because of any materialistic conception of history.

Nor because, on the day I was ordained for the Church, I would know that everything was ordained for me: that there would be something hot for breakfast each morning; that during the day food and raiment would be assured; that my declining years could be devoted entirely to preparation for meeting God because of somebody's foresight in providing an allowance for old age "better than Beveridge."

Nor would my desire to be soulful be influenced by the knowledge that I could think what I pleased without worrying about 18B.

To me the chief advantage in living as the elect would be that I should not require to think at all.

I SAY this because of State happenings in the life-time of us all. In affairs of State the Lords Spiritual have a great advantage over the Lords Temporal.

For instance, even in 18B cases, a Law Lord insists on evidence based on law. The fact that 18B takes no notice of law makes no difference. People accused of breaches of 18B, we know, are entitled to appeal for justice under the laws before being finally told that the laws under which they appeal for justice have been suspended.

Nevertheless the distinction is clear. A Law Lord waits for the evidence of the accused before deciding there is no law: the Lords Spiritual can dispense justice without hearing the accused.

And not only can they dispense with evidence; they can even dispense with God, if necessary in the interests of justice. "Vengeance is mine", saith the Lord, no longer holds. Vengeance now is for nations without sin—i.e. Britain and whoever

happens to be our friend at the moment.

The Lords Spiritual have decided that these sinless nations shall cast the first stone. Moreover, they have decreed that the first stone shall be so effective that it will also be the last one. The evidence can be collected by historians.

★

Thus it comes about that, for the second time since the war to end war, the Lords Spiritual have dispensed justice without troubling about evidence.

When, in 1930, Comrade Stalin's Five Year Plan sent floods of wheat and timber to Britain, the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury discovered that Russia was a Godless land. The Churches were defiled. Thousands of priests were murdered. Humble worshippers, according to the late Archbishop, were also murdered.

But in 1930 the State did not declare war on Russia, and Bishops were left in the humiliating position of having to appeal to God to punish the evil doers. Russia became our ally.

But on this occasion the Lords Spiritual are taking no risks. God let them down once, and so my Lord of York is not demanding vengeance from that quarter. He is appealing straight to the trinity: Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. Without even thinking, My Lord must instinctively feel that the last-named will be ruthless in dealing with anyone who persecutes Christians or Jews.

★

Yet, whilst accepting that in time of war nations should disdain evidence and keep God in good condition for Post-War developments, I wish to utter a word of moderation: do not keep up the hate one moment longer than is necessary to win the war.

We should profit from the mistakes of last time. On that occasion the

humble folk of Britain and France were grievously disappointed to learn that the Kaiser and Little Willie were not to be hanged—that Germany being squeezed till the pips squeaked caused squeaking in Britain.

By 1920, Mr. Lloyd George himself was openly forced to regret the many attempts to keep up the hate in 1918. Nor was his difficulty made easier by saying that Mr. Asquith made as many rash promises of vengeance as anybody in the Coalition. Mr. Churchill was forced to say that "the prosperity of Britain is bound up with the prosperity of Germany."

★

Therefore, I would appeal to the Archbishops to be fair to the politicians.

Archbishops can get along without evidence at all times and without God in war time. The nation may get along without Magna Carta or without any State law.

But there is one law of nature that no statesman can ignore: that law which declares that the strongest Power in Europe must of necessity be an enemy. For when we have destroyed the strongest Power in Europe, the second strongest Power becomes the strongest, and automatically becomes the enemy.

Bishops must remember that minds trained for cotton factories are not so flexible as minds trained for Holy Orders. Thus, in 1920, cotton operatives were still hating Germany when they should have been suspicious of France. In 1934 they were still thinking of Godless Russia when Mr. Eden was welcoming our noble Ally to the League of Nations.

Therefore, if we are to remain a First Class Power, Archbishops must not let too many suns go down on their hate. For surely none of them would care to be guilty of the sin of making us hate the wrong country—the second strongest Power in Europe.

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WORDS OF PEACE — 10

"A Spirit Which I Feel"

THERE is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations.

As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered.

I found it alone, being forsaken. I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life.

James Nayler, dying testimony, 1660.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

Winning the War - and Beveridge

I HEARD Mr. James Griffiths, MP, plead forcibly for the Beveridge Report to be carried out to the letter. He argued in the same breath that he was all out for winning the war, whatever that may mean.

Does it never occur to these whole-hoggers for the bitter end and for (at the same time) social blessedness and security that there is some slight incompatibility between the two objectives? Winning the war, whatever else it may mean, involves:

- Devastating and destroying on a vaster scale than ever.
- The death by famine of many millions.
- An appalling bloodshed on both sides.
- Hundreds of thousands of mangled and crippled soldiers.
- A vast increase of indebtedness to the holders of war-bonds.

All these factors and many others will not add to the productive power of this country or Europe. Yet Mr. Griffiths based the practicability of the Beveridge plan on a large increase in production as compared with before the war.

Moreover, winning the war, according to most pre-war authorities, means policing the enemy countries for five or ten years and educating them into the humanities of which we are such shining examples. It will not be easy, to say the least, to meet the demands of the Beveridge Report from a debilitated and demoralized Europe of war-weary soldiers and citizens.

(Rev.) RICHARD LEE

Great Meeting House, Holyhead Rd., Coventry.

Progress

No-one will question that progress is not measured in terms of bank balances, but in a world where it is impossible to deliver a group letter unless you have a penny stamp it follows that there must be a shrinkage of

THE DEBATE IS OPEN!

Let Geo. Ll. Davies, Laurence Houman, Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Reginald Reynolds, Alan Staniland, Roy Walker and Howard Whitten open your group discussion on:

Non-Violence for the West?

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P.P.U. Bookshop, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

CHARLES E. RAVEN on the problem of Pacifist Technique

FEW questions are better worth discussing by pacifists in this country than the method of non-violent resistance, or Satyagraha, developed by Mr. Gandhi as his instrument for political action.

For if our pacifism is not to be a futile escapism, we must discover a means of putting our ideals into effect, and the means freely employed by the mass of our fellow-citizens involve ultimate violence and are therefore barred to us.

Most of us would point to Mr. Gandhi as the greatest and most successful of pacifist leaders; and inevitably the question arises: "Why are we failing to follow his example and to adopt his technique?" Is this failure due to mere blindness and cowardice on our part? Or does it arise from the conviction that non-violent resistance is either morally wrong or practically (for us is the West) irrelevant?

Such questions—and the obvious difficulty of the problems that have

VARIETY OF VIEWS

to be faced in answering them—give a special importance to the symposium now issued. It should be widely read. For it gives us the reaction of a wide variety of British pacifists to the Indian technique. To see how these varying writers approach and discuss the subject is to gain material for a clearing of one's own views.

Not that the task of doing so is easy: at first the divergence of outlook and the lack of any agreed definition of terms (and I must add the obscurity and inconclusiveness of some of the papers) create a sense of bewilderment. But if the reader will persist, and will "chew over" the scripts, he will find himself gaining an insight into the heart of the matter; and if he does not get an answer to all his questions, he will at least find out what are the right questions to ask.

My own difficulty at this point is that no one of the papers deals explicitly or fully with the matter that seems to me vital. In consequence, my tendency is to feel a certain disappointment with the symposium as a whole; and even to murmur "superficial," and in places even ruder comments.

MORALITY OF SATYAGRAHA

The matter that seems to me too often evaded is the primary question of the morality of Mr. Gandhi's technique.

We should all, I imagine, approve

activities if there is no bank balance to draw on for the penny.

I certainly hope that it will continue to cause alarm and dependency amongst the membership if our activities are curtailed for lack of funds. To me the remarkable thing in the result of the recent financial appeal is that there should have been any doubt of the right response from the membership once they were convinced of the urgency and the need.

It is axiomatic that the progress of our movement, in common with others, depends upon the integrity of its members. I have failed to notice any anxiety to register more rapid progress, but if there is, does that imply a danger to our integrity? Having thrown up his cap and shouted "Hurrah", for which I think there is some justification, the ordinary member realizes that his responsibility includes the financial one. In so doing I do not think that he will forget any fundamental truth of his own integrity.

HARRY HILDITCH
The Grange, Wythall, Birmingham.

Soil Erosion

I was very interested in your leading article on "The New Barbarism".

If, in any case, we are doomed to spend our days as cogs in the wheels of mass production, it doesn't seem to matter whether we call it life or death, war or peace; or what political or economic system prevails. As factory hands we lose living contact with the soil; we lose natural, creative contact with raw material; we lose real contact with society, because we scarcely know what we are making, or what are the real wants and individual tastes of those we serve. Loss of vital contacts makes us like dust-particles blown from soil that has lost cohesion and fertility—society becomes a desert.

The simile occurs to me because I am reading a book on soil erosion. Accustomed to the paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty"—a "plenty" which must increase as more and better machines work faster and faster everywhere—I thought the only prob-

lem (economically) was distribution. Now that it dawns on me that "plenty" has been dragged from the land at the expense of soil fertility, my ideas suffer upheaval. Won't we soon be obliged to "come to earth" and set about soil-conservation in earnest? If erosion leads to famine, there is no cause for rejoicing. But if, to avert famine, we are forced to find a simpler, more balanced way of living and to put the brakes on the infernal mass-production drive, it may be that even the wind that raised a dust storm was not too ill to blow any good.

GWEN SULLIVAN

A Tribute

Writing as still imperfect pacifists, we would like to say that it was not until we met and knew Ivy Miller that we even realized what true pacifism meant. By the gentle and courteous answers with which she met opposition, and even insults, when selling Peace News, it was obvious that she possessed that real and rare love for all humanity which constitutes perfect pacifism. We can never cease to regret her death nor to cherish her memory.

MAUDE CHANDLER
STEPHEN ROHAN

SECRET TRIALS

When questions were put to the Home Secretary in the House of Commons on Feb. 23 about the case of Arthur T. Williams, the Government employee who was convicted, with Stuart Morris, of contravening the Official Secrets Act, Mr. Peake (the Under-Secretary) agreed that it was possible "to have complete secrecy about the result of a trial, and the fact that a trial has taken place, for a matter of weeks."

No answer, however, was given, to Mr. W. Brown's question: "Can we have an assurance that there are no cases where trial has taken place in camera where the decision has not ultimately been released to the press?"

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★

Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Dr. Alex Wood's Resignation

In a letter putting before the Executive Committee his resignation as Chairman of the PPU, Dr. Alex Wood states:

BY deliberately postponing decision* as to whether to accept Stuart Morris's resignation the Council has placed me as Chairman in an impossible position. In my original statement to the Council I said that, in my opinion, any dissociation of the Council and the Union from Stuart Morris's action which did not carry with it the acceptance of his resignation, would be meaningless, and I still feel this very strongly. I take a much more serious view of the offence to which Stuart has pleaded guilty than the majority of the Council.

It was a shock to me to discover what Stuart had done, and a further shock to discover how lightly some members of the Council viewed it. I hold that in no circumstances is it morally justifiable, least of all for the General Secretary of a Union such as ours, to obtain secret Government documents by conniving at a breach of trust on the part of a Government servant. Nor was this a single lapse; the official statement makes it clear that it was a systematic policy. In pursuing this policy Stuart has seriously prejudiced the Union in public esteem, and risked its very existence.

It is argued by some that he might have been taking great risks for high ends. In my view that would not have justified his action; but in any case I cannot accept this interpretation of the facts. If this had been the real situation, it might, in the view of some, have justified his action if he could have taken the risk as a private individual; but the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union cannot act in a matter of this kind as a private individual, particularly if the office of the Union is also his private residence. If he acts as a representative of the Union, he is in duty bound to consult his Chairman, who shares with him the responsibility for the good name of the Union, and necessarily to some extent shares with him the personal risks involved.

Feeling this as I do, I cannot accept responsibility for the action of the Council, nor can I undertake, as Chairman, the task of defending it.

I have never questioned the view that we should stand by Stuart personally. I am sure he acted from no unworthy motive, and my personal affection for him is unchanged. In my original statement to the Council I urged that we should accept responsibility for his commitments, assure him of our continued affection, and undertake that immediately on his release he should return into the service of the Union.

I need hardly say that my resignation is not prompted by merely selfish motives. If I did not feel that the assertion in this way of the view which I hold would in the end be for the good of the Union I would not take this step. I recognize the sense of deep conviction with which contrary views are held, and lay down my office without any sense of grievance. My tenure of the Chair has not been an easy one, and I am painfully conscious of my shortcomings. I am all the more grateful for the consideration which has been shown to me, especially by those who from time to time have differed from me in matters of policy. Of personal differences, if they exist, I have never been conscious.

My resignation as Chairman carries with it automatically that of my membership of the Council, the Executive, and all committees. I hope I may be allowed to continue to serve the Union in other ways, and would be willing, if the Executive so wishes, to remain in a private capacity on the Food Relief and Pacifist Service Bureau Committees and on any other for which I am eligible and on which I might be thought to be useful.

*At an emergency meeting on Feb. 20 the National Council discussed the resignation as General Secretary which Stuart Morris had placed in the Chairman's hands, and decided that it should lie on the table for the present.

Stuart Morris's Defence

The expenses of Stuart Morris's defence have so far been guaranteed by a small number of personal friends, but the Council believe that many members of the movement will wish to share these expenses in appreciation of his great services to the movement. Miss Nancy Morris, Stuart Morris's sister, is acting as treasurer of a fund for this purpose, and donations should be sent addressed to her c/o Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Some official facts and figures concerning

C.O.s

ACCORDING to figures given by Mr. Bevin in Parliament, Feb. 25, about 65,000 men and 2,500 women have applied for registration as conscientious objectors—an average of 86 in every 10,000 men registered and 27 in every 10,000 women. The numbers for men have fallen in successive registrations from 222 per 10,000 in October, 1939, to 36 per 10,000 in 1942.

According to the CBCO Bulletin (Feb.), up to the end of 1942, 53,822 men and 578 women appeared before tribunals, of whom 5% and 7% respectively have been given unconditional exemption; 37% and 66% conditional exemption; and 20% and 23% removed from the register.

When the Secretary of State for the Home Department was asked in the House of Commons on Feb. 23 whether he would consider amending the Civil Defence (Exemption Tribunals) Order, under which military service (hardships) committees consider applications for exemption from fire prevention duties, in order to ensure that sympathetic consideration

FREED FROM 18B

Mr. Frederick H.-U. Bowman, pacifist and author, detained since June, 1940, under Regulation 18B, has been released from Brixton Prison, unconditionally, reported the Evening Standard, Mar. 1.

would be given in the case of housewives actively engaged in the Women's Voluntary Services and similar activities, the Under-Secretary (Mr. Peake) replied:

I understand that it is the practice of the tribunals to give most careful consideration to all relevant factors in reaching decisions on applications for exemption on grounds of exceptional hardship. My right hon. Friend is, however, proposing to include in the forthcoming amending Order special provisions to facilitate the decision of applications submitted by women with heavy household responsibilities.

In the House of Commons on Feb. 25, Mr. Reakes asked the Minister of Labour whether, in view of the manpower position, he would now

take the necessary steps to enable the compulsory recruitment for His Majesty's Forces of all aliens of military age at liberty in this country and to give power for the compulsory enlistment for Civil Defence duties, without any exceptions, of these aliens enjoying the protection of this country?

Mr. Bevin: "I do not contemplate legislation additional to the Allied Powers (War Service) Act in respect of military service by aliens in this country. I am advised by my right hon. Friend the Minister of Home Secur-

BOOK THIS DATE for the

REUNION SOCIAL

of the London Regional Board for Conscientious Objectors

Sat., Mar. 20, 3.30—9 p.m.

FRIENDS HOUSE, Euston Rd.

Watch for further details

Lunch Hour Addresses at

FRIENDS HOUSE,
EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1.

Tuesdays 1.20—2.0 p.m.

March 9, 1943

THE BEVERIDGE REPORT

Seeborn Rowntree

March 16, 1943

A NATIONAL POLICY FOR INDUSTRY

Edmund H. Gilpin

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (QUAKERS)
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(with age-ranges, and non-Friend Fees)

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Ackworth Sch., nr. Pontefract	9—18	£120
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Friends Sch., Gr. Ayton, Yorks	9—17	£99
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Junior School	7—9	£104
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Friends Sch., Wigton, Cumb.	10—17	£99

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Apply direct to "Friends School", or to:		
The Secretary, Friends Education Council,		
Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.		

IN GERMANY

NEWS has been received in England of another German being exempted in Germany from military service. The news has been received by a fellow member of the Society of Friends in London and is reported in The Friend, Feb. 26, as follows:

Y and his wife had visited England in about 1931, when they were anti-Nazi, and pacifists, but not Friends. Y was working on the determination of crystal structure by means of X-rays, and visited England in connection with this work. He later obtained a research post in Berlin.

Y and his wife joined Friends in Germany in 1935 or 1936, and he spoke at the Yearly Meeting in 1941. He was called up for military service, but stated his objection to fighting before a court-martial and was allowed to continue his own work. A scientific paper published by him in Leipzig in 1942 is proof that he was doing so at any rate until then. His work is essentially "pure" research and has no direct application to the war effort.

ity that it is proposed to make an Order rendering certain classes of aliens liable for fire guard duty, subject to certain conditions, as soon as the necessary consultations have been completed. He does not consider that any advantage would be gained by extending these arrangements to other Civil Defence duties."

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

ACCOMMODATION

C.O., WIFE, and baby require flat, N. London, ground or first floor, use of garden. Box 773 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 4 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9688, 4 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

FURNISHED BEDROOM and sittingroom offered in exchange for domestic assistance to elderly couple. Child not objected to. Watford. Box 774 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FURNISHED HOUSE available; offered to couple who will look after occupier. Lincolnshire district. Box 761 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LADY (64) giving up home because help required, desires live with someone. Own bedroom, furniture preferred. Fond of children. Midlands appreciated. Box 772 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED TO RENT, by married C.O. doing hospital work N. London, small house or ground-floor flat with garden. Two children. Box 687 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WILL BATH family receive as paying guest from April 11 Christian pacifist, aged 30, member well-known Somerset clerical family? Work (Kensington district) necessitates rise 6 a.m. Away weekends. Box 771 PN 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

BURGESS HILL School, Redhurst, Cranleigh, Surrey. Co-ed. 5—14. High standard in academic subjects, arts, and music. Eggs, honey, fruit, vegetables.

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FOR SALE & WANTED

FOOD RELIEF, QUAKER, AND ESPERANTO Economy Labels, 8s. 6d. 1,000, 4s. 9d. 500, 1s. 3d. 100. 100,000 in stock. W. J. Bridgen, 125 Drakefield Rd., S.W.17.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL Stamps bought, loose and collections; prompt cash. Flavell, bookseller, St. Gregory's, Norwich.

WANTED, spinning wheel, good condition. Send full particulars Evered, Snowford Hall, Hunningham, Leamington.

WRITE FOR OUR vegetable seed catalogue. "In Your Garden." Newman St., Shirley Terminus, Southampton.

DR. ALEX WOOD

FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1.15

St. Margaret's, Lothbury, E.C.2 (nr. Bank) "PACIFIST OBJECTIVES"

FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 7.30

Friends Meeting House, Leicester Rd., New Barnet

"RELIEF FOR OCCUPIED EUROPE"

SUNDAY, MARCH 14, 3

Labour Club, 57 Church Rd., Richmond

"PACIFIST OBJECTIVES"

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Please apply to Fr. David, Llathony Abbey, Capel y Ffin, Abergavenny, Mon.

The Government has "nothing to add" on

FAMINE

A PETITION signed by more than 3,000 residents in Colwyn Bay, asking the Government to grant permits for such relief schemes of food to enemy-controlled territories as can be satisfactorily carried out by the International and Swedish Red Cross, was the subject of questions in the Commons on Feb. 23.

The petition was organized by the Colwyn Bay Food Relief Committee.

Mr. Foot, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare, told Sir Henry Morris-Jones that the Minister had considered the petition, but said that he (Mr. Foot) had nothing to add to the many statements he had already made on the subject.

Sir H. Morris-Jones asked whether, if Swedish and Portuguese shipping were available and it did not affect our war effort, Mr. Foot would reconsider the matter, and whether he appreciated "the fact that these people will not care whether we win the war at all."

Mr. Foot: "I certainly do not agree with the last part of the supplementary question. Though shipping is an important consideration, the most important consideration is the benefit, direct or indirect, which the enemy would certainly obtain if there was any raising of the blockade."

When Sir Henry asked whether it was not a fact that "the stuff which has already been sent through has not benefited the enemy in any way", Mr. Foot replied: "I think any importation through the blockade must bring a certain degree of benefit to the enemy." In reply to a further supplementary question, he added that "the situation is kept constantly—indeed, daily—under review."

GROWING DEMAND

In other parts of the country there has been local action and responsible press support for controlled food relief in the past week.

The Oxford Mail, which published an article by Dr. Howard Kershner, commented editorially: "We, therefore, heartily endorse the soberly-worded resolution urging the relief of famine on the Continent which was passed at an Oxford mass meeting, and trust that the Government will take the steps for which the resolution appeals. We cannot remain supine. Some attempt must be made to save the lives of the children at present facing starvation."

Europe's starving children are "the most painful part of the war news", said the Edinburgh Evening Dispatch (Feb. 17).

SITUATIONS VACANT

ADAPTABLE MAN (or man-and-wife) wanted by Dr. Gilbert's Health Foods Ltd., Grantham.

COMPANION-HELP for elderly lady. Middle-age or over preferred. Small house. Box 768 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FORESTRY UNIT, Newark-Lincoln district, needs C.O.s. Congenial conditions. Write Wadsworth, Potter Hill, Swinderby, Lincoln.

GARDENER required; knowledge of Tomato growing an advantage. Excellent cottage. Apply Henry Burtt, Dowsby Hall, nr. Bourne, Lincs.

GENERAL FARM WORKER required, good cottage. Another C.O. employed. Evered, Snowford Hall, Hunningham, Leamington.

HELPER WANTED for 3-5-year-old group at small experimental school for East Enders. Hard but very interesting work. Isolated country place. Richard Phibbs, Beer Farm School, Dulverton, Somerset.

HERDSMAN wanted, Pacifist Cooperative Farm, Pedigree Friesians. Accredited: machine milking. Full responsibility management, buying and selling, etc. Bleasby Grange, Legsby, Market Rasen, Lincs.

SINGLE MEN prepared to travel with others, as Cane Cutters. Complies with Horticultural condition. Box 767 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

STONE BOWER FELLOWSHIP, Burton in Lonsdale, Carnforth, home for aged evacuees. Wanted Cook, and Housemother. C.O. scheme of service; small pocket money and maintenance. Also Woman Warden for a smaller hostel. Urgent need.

TWO MEN required for market garden work near Bath. Box 754 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

TWO strong young men wanted for Market Garden work near Evesham. Must be physically fit. Previous experience useful but not essential. Box 766 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

URGENT! Wanted immediately, person to look after semi-invalid lady and small ground floor flat. Child not objected to. Box 769 PN 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, Typist and Bookkeeper for Derby. Details and salary required to Box 762 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG PACIFIST COUPLE (baby May) require urgently domestic help. All duties small modern house, live in. Lawton, 77 Oldfield Rd., Altrincham, Cheshire.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. Letterpress cylinder machine minder (T.U.) requires regular part time position (alternate days) London area. Box 761 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. REQUIRES landwork. Experienced tractor driver. Gregory, 99A Bishops Park, Bishop Cleeve, Cheltenham, Glos.

C.O., 25, DRIVER, requires situation, London area preferred but not essential. Unconditional exemption. Box 765 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (33), conditionally exempted, male nurse, chronic experience, forced to leave present situation, seeks vacancy. Box 764 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOSPITAL, X-ray lab., or Electrician. Can anyone employ London or Home Counties? Radio and design engineer, aged 35, some knowledge X-ray and First Aid. Box 763 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LIGHT WORK WANTED, easy reach S.W.17. Agriculture, hospital, Civil Defence, W. J. Bridgen, 125 Drakefield Rd., S.W.17.

UNCONDITIONALLY EXEMPTED, 37, single, any job; qualities rather than qualifications. Isherwood, 23 Edith Rd., W.14. Fulham 3523.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Peace reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Walsley, (Station: Ambergate; Tel.: Ambergate 44).

DEVON. Modernized Farm-house, quiet spot, beautiful scenery, pacifist owners. Write Pierce, Westcott, Oakford, Tiverton.

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